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## THE DEATH OF QRVAR ODDR

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In the *Qrvar Oddssaga* the hero learns from a seeress that he will live three hundred years and then die by his horse Faxi. He immediately kills the fatal horse and goes abroad to wander over the whole world. At the end of the time set he returns to Iceland and when he is looking at Faxi's skeleton he is bitten by a snake which lay concealed in the empty skull. From the effects of the bite he soon dies.<sup>1</sup> The *Qrvar Oddssaga* is one of the oldest of the *Fornaldarsögur*, a group of Icelandic sagas which have a vague historical foundation along with a vast deal of folk-lore. This saga in particular has no assured connection with history or historical characters, though possibly the hero is the Ohthere who appears as a famous traveler in Alfred's *Orosius*. Before his story was carried to Iceland it may have been told in Norway, where some place-names, especially Faxasee, show an acquaintance with the saga.<sup>2</sup> The Norwegian allusion to Faxi seems to imply that the episode of the horse is one of the oldest parts of the saga. This story of the faithful horse which brings death to its master is a floating tale which is found also in Russian and English historical tradition and which has some very curious and interesting parallels in the stories of other countries.

The oldest analogue to this Norse prophecy of death and its fulfilment in spite of seeming impossibility has been pointed out in the Russian *Chronicle of Nestor* under date of 912 A.D. It is as follows:

And the autumn came and Oleg remembered his horse which he had nourished and which he had never mounted. For one day he had asked of the diviners and enchanters, "From what shall I die?" The diviner answered, "The horse that you love and that you ride shall be the cause of

<sup>1</sup> Rafn, *Fornaldarsögur Nodrlanda*, II, 169-89, 300; *Qrvar Oddssaga*, ed. R. C. Boer, Leyden, 1888, pp. 15, 17, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, II, 1, 836. New evidence pointing to the Norwegian origin of the saga has been collected by Liestøl (*Norske trollvisor og norrøne sogor*, Kristiana, 1915), but it apparently does not involve the episode here discussed. I have not seen S. Rożniecki, *Varaegiske minder i den russiske helteedigtning*, Copenhagen, 1914. Settegast seems inclined to identify Oddr with Olivier in *Garin le Loherain* and the *Chanson de Roland*; see Herrig's *Archiv*, CXIV (1905), 215.

your death." Oleg reflected on this and said, "I shall not mount it again and I shall not wish to see it any more." He ordered that it should be cared for, but that it should not be brought before him. Some years passed and he did not make any use of it up to the time of his going to Greece. When he returned to Kiev four years had passed and in the fifth year he recalled his horse which was to cause his death according to the prediction of the enchanter. He summoned his chief esquire, saying, "Where is my horse that I have ordered to be nourished and cared for?" The esquire answered, "It is dead." Oleg laughed and mocked the seer, saying, "All that the sorcerers prophesy is a lie. The horse is dead and I am alive." And he ordered his horse saddled in order to see the bones, and he came to the place where the naked bones and the head of the animal lay, and he leapt from the horse on which he rode and began to laugh, saying, "That was the head which was to kill me." And he put his foot on the head and a viper crept out of it and bit him in the foot. He fell ill and died.<sup>1</sup>

This story is told also in the epic ballads (*byliny*): and the relation of those versions to the accounts of the chroniclers is a matter of some interest to students of the epics.<sup>2</sup> The details of Oleg's death in the historians belong, it said, to "a later stratum, which has been elaborated in the style of the popular epics."<sup>3</sup> Pushkin, who has told the story admirably in one of his ballads,<sup>4</sup> apparently did not take it from a dry chronicle, and his care concerning his source affords, says Khalanskiĭ, "new testimony to the general regard for his severity and conscientiousness in artistic endeavor."

The differences in the various Russian accounts of the death of Oleg would be only of incidental interest, if we had them; but the relation of the two stories, Russian and Norwegian (Icelandic), is of considerable importance. Leger says that the story in the chronicle is mythical and that the only portion of truth in it is that Oleg probably died from a snake bite, and even that seems dubious enough in view of the Scandinavian parallel.<sup>5</sup> He with Pogodin

<sup>1</sup> L. Leger, *Chronique dite de Nestor*, Paris, 1884, p. 29; C. W. Smith, *Russiske Krønike oversat og forklaret*, Kopenhagen, 1869; Miklosich, *Chronica Nestoris*, 1860, pp. 20-21; L. Paris, *Chronique de Nestor*, Paris, 1834, p. 45, cf. a note on p. 50 citing Torfæus, *Hist. de Norv.*, Tom. I, liv. vi, ch. 6, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> See Khalanskiĭ, "K istorii poetičeskikh skazaniĭ ob Olege veščem," chap. iii, sec. 7, *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvěščenĭia*, CCCL (December, 1903), 38-40. He cites Sukhomlinov, *O drevne-rus. letopisi*, pp. 123-24; Šletser, *Nestor*, II, 766 ff.; Ždanov, *Rus. byl. epos*, p. 423; Markevič, *O letopisiakh*, I (Odessa, 1883), 148.

<sup>3</sup> Khalanskiĭ, *ibid.*, CCCXLII (August, 1902), 305.

<sup>4</sup> "Pesn o veščem Olege." R. Köhler (*Kleinere Schriften*, I, 47) cites a translation by Bodenstedt.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*<sup>4</sup>, p. 792) compares the death of Orion.

believes that the Russian chronicler drew on the saga.<sup>1</sup> Boer considers the stories of Oleg and Oddr too similar not to be related, and suggests deriving them from a common Scandinavian original.<sup>2</sup> "In the ninth century," he concludes (p. 110), "it [the story of the horse's skull] was widely disseminated in both countries and familiar to the founders of the Russian dynasty, who before long localized it in Russia, while, for some unknown reason, it was being attached in Norway to the name of Oddr." Mogk on the contrary thinks that a Russian story was picked up by a Norwegian narrator.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing stories have been compared by H. L. Ward in some remarks on a British Museum manuscript of the saga with the much later tradition concerning an English knight, Sir Robert de Shurland of the Isle of Sheppey, who was created Knight Banneret by Edward I at the siege of Caerlaverock. The first account of this local tradition seems to be that in the journal of a "five days' peregrination" along the southern coast of England by Hogarth, the painter, and four companions. The journey was made between the twenty-seventh and the thirty-first of May, 1732; but the narrative seems to have been published for the first time fifty years later.<sup>4</sup> One of the travelers who had been commissioned to keep a record of the journey, tells the legend as follows:

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this lord Shorland having been to visit a friend on this island, and passing by this church in his way home to Shorland, about two miles off, he saw a concourse of people gathered together in

<sup>1</sup> Leger, p. 343; Pogodin, *Nestor, eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung* (tr. F. Löwe), St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> "Ueber die Orvar-Odds Saga," *Arkiv for nordisk filologi*, VIII (1892), 96 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* There is nothing on the subject in Senkovski, "De islandske Sagaer i deres Forhold til den russiske Historie," *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Copenhagen, 1847, 1-77. H. L. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, II, 67) cites J. G. Liljegren, *Skandinaviska Fornölderens Hjellesagor*, II (Stockholm, 1819), and Suhm, *Danish History*.

<sup>4</sup> See the reprint of the journal in Hone, *Table-Book*, II (1828), cols. 291 ff., where also Gostling's versification of it is reproduced. John Nichols (*Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, London, 1785, p. 414) quotes Walpole, IV, 192, to the effect that "some few copies of the Tour were printed by Mr. Nichols in the preceding year" and that the tour printed by J. N. in 1781 should not be confused with that published by Mr. Livesay in 1782: the former was by Mr. Gostling of Canterbury, the latter by "one of the company." In Appendix III, pp. 502 ff., Nichols reprints the Gostling text. Timbs (*Abbeys, Castles, and Ancient Halls of England and Wales*, London, n. d., II, 285-86; 1872, I, 339) gives a version in fifty-four couplets by "one of the company," which ends:

"Tis a good moral hint at least,  
That gratitude's due to a beast."

This Timbs appears to have copied from Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, III, new ed., n. d., p. 76, s. v. "Minster Church."

the church-yard; and inquiring the reason, was informed that the parson who stood by there, refused to bury the corpse brought for that purpose, because there was no money to pay the burial fees. His lordship, being extremely moved at the parson, ordered the people to throw him into the grave, and bury him quick; which they accordingly did, and he died. My lord went home: and there reflecting on what he had done, and fearing to forfeit his life for the offence, he wrote a petition, setting forth the nature of his offence; and hearing the queen was on board one of the ships at the Nore (to which place she came to take a view of her fleet designed to oppose the Spanish armada), he took a horse, and rode directly into the sea, and swam to the Nore, above three miles off, and coming to the ship's side, begged to see her majesty; who came immediately, and he presented his petition. The queen received, read and granted it; and he, without quitting his horse, swam back again to the island; and coming on the shore met an old woman, who told him, that though the horse had saved his life, he would be the cause of his death. His lordship, fearing (and in order to prevent) the accomplishment of the old woman's prophecy, alighted from his horse, drew his sword and killed him, and left him there; and his carcass was, by the force of the sea, thrown some little way on the land.

Some years after this, my lord, walking with some of his friends near the sea-side, espied the skull and some other bones of the horse lying there, and relating the foregoing account, happened to kick the skull and hurt one of his toes, which mortified and killed him. . . . This story is so firmly believed in that parish, that a horse's head, finely gilt, is placed as a weather-cock on the church steeple, and the figure of a horse is struck upon the spindle above that weather-cock, and the church is commonly called the Horse Church.<sup>1</sup>

Minster Church on the Isle of Thanet, the so-called Horse Church, has within it a Gothic monument, which has been supposed to be Sir Robert's. It represents a recumbent, cross-legged knight, whose head rests on a helmet.<sup>2</sup> Close to the wall is a horse's head as if emerging from the waves; on his left arm is a shield like that of a Knight Templar; at his feet stands a page.

John Timbs, an indefatigable compiler of local history and legend, reports a version which he appears to ascribe to Grose, a historian

<sup>1</sup> Essentially the same story may be found in Walpole's *New British Traveller* (1784), p. 21 (reprinted by Mansergh, *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., V, 157 [25 Feb., 1888]). The differences are insignificant; the lord's name is Shawlam; he goes to the clergyman's house on hearing of the refusal to bury the corpse; he swims three times around the queen's ship; his death occurs on the day following his pardon.

<sup>2</sup> Timbs, *loc. cit.*; see also a woodcut in Hone, *Table-Book*, II, col. 318. This monument may be no longer in existence, for the church has since been "restored." Grose cites Philipot as authority for the knighting of de Shurland.

about contemporary with the publication of Hogarth's tour, but I cannot find this peculiar form of the story in the earlier work—Grose, as I have said, prints one of the versified journals of the tour—nor can I suggest an explanation for Timbs' variations from the usual story. He relates

that he [de Shurland] buried a priest alive; that he swam on his horse two miles to the King, who was then near this isle, on shipboard, to purchase his pardon, and, having obtained it, swam back to the shore, where being arrived he cut off the head of the said horse because it affirmed he had acted this by magic; and that riding a hunting a twelvemonth after, his horse stumbled and threw him on the skull of his former horse, which blow so bruised him that from the contusion he contracted an inward imposthumation from which he died.

The legend of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Shorland preserved in the journal of Hogarth's tour is, as a writer in *Notes and Queries*<sup>1</sup> remarks, degraded and the figure of the hero is "evidently compounded in the eighteenth century, out of old and incongruous materials." Fortunately the contributor had heard the story in circulation (ca. 1868) and he reports it once more, with the earmarks of his own age in the handling of popular tradition, flippancy, and "fine writing." His version is as follows:

The scene of the original narrative (long ago pointed out to me on the spot) is the flat seashore between Sheerness and the Sheppey Cliffs. Hither came a knight of Sheppey, riding his favorite destrier, and ready to embark with his retainers for the third Crusade. He had already, according to the judicious practice of the age, made away with an inconvenient young woman, but the mother of that deluded female had her eye on him. She, being a "wise woman," appeared on the beach at the critical moment, just as the knight had dismounted and his war-horse was about to be coaxed into the boat. She told him that that very horse would be the avenger of her murdered offspring. "Nous verrons!" said the knight in his language; and, like another famous hero, he then and there stabbed the horse, and had it buried in the sand.

Years afterward he returned from the Crusade, and landed at the place where he had embarked. As he sprang ashore something sharp within the sand pierced his foot through and through. It was one of the skull-bones of that avenging destrier. He died, and the wise woman immediately raised her terms.

<sup>1</sup> A. J. M., 7th Ser., V, 214 (17 Mar., 1888).

R. H. Barham who tells the story under the title "Greydolphin" in the *Ingoldsby Legends* (1840) perhaps got it from the narrative of Hogarth's tour or possibly from oral tradition. He has much embellished the introductory episode of the corpse<sup>1</sup> and knows nothing about the knight's love affair. "Greydolphin" is of course the best literary form of the story. Gostling's versification of the journal has already been noted. Grose prints a third narrative, in fifty-four couplets, "hitched into doggerel rhyme," which, like Gostling's, is based on the journal. The claims of these versifications of the journal to literary merit are negligible.<sup>2</sup> The introductory lines of Gostling's account will be a sufficient example of its manner:

The Lord of *Shorland*, on a day,  
Chancing to take a ride this way,  
About a corpse observ'd a crowd,  
Against their priest complaining loud,  
That he would not the service say,  
Till somebody his fees should pay.

A queer story which Friedrich Rückert picked up somewhere and told under the title of "Schanferi" might possibly be compared with the preceding narratives of the deaths of Orvar Oddr, Oleg, and De Shurland. I cannot suggest a source for it; of course it is quite independent of the former story, as will appear from a brief outline:

Schanferi has sworn to kill a hundred of his enemies, but fails to accomplish his vow. Ninety-nine have fallen when he himself is killed and his skull is left on the field. An enemy who is aware of the unfulfilled vow sees the skull and with malicious joy kicks it. His rejoicing is short-lived, for a splinter breaks off "like a dagger" and pierces his foot—and the tale of the dead is complete.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The corpse which is unwelcome to its companions in the churchyard is not unknown in popular tradition, see Feilberg, *Zs. des Ver. f. Volksk.*, V (1895), 240, and Bartels, *ibid.*, X (1900), 136-37. Compare also *Revue des trad. pop.*, II (1887), 267; *ibid.*, VII (1892), 586; *Folk-Lore*, IX (1898), 372-79, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A curious story about the founding of Constantinople has sometimes been cited in the present connection, although it is probably unrelated. An emperor's horse trod on a skull, which said: "Why do you crush me since I can injure you, although I am dead?" The emperor took the skull home with him, burned it to powder, and put the ashes in a chest. His daughter, putting her tongue to the ashes, became pregnant, and bore a son who was expelled by his grandfather and who later founded Constantinople. Cf. Massmann, *Kaiserchronik*, III, 870 (from *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst*, XVI [Vienna, 1825], 625).

<sup>3</sup> *Poetische Werke*, Frankfurt am Main, 1882, VI, 38-39 (Dritte Abtheilung: Wanderung, Zweiter Theil, Fünfter Bezirk, Erbauliches und Beschauliches aus dem Morgenlande). It was first published in 1824. Boxberger (*Rückert-Studien*, 1877, p. 226) may have commented on the source, but I have not had access to that reference.

There are interesting analogues to the fate of Qrvar Oddr in the legends of other countries, and the most important one of these is worth considering in some detail. This is the North German folk-tale of the hunter Hackelberg, which is especially interesting on account of its popularity in Germany and its remarkable similarity to a Greek story with very curious connections. The folk relate that Hackelberg was killed by a dead boar, although he had been forewarned of danger by a dream (or vision). This legend is current in and about the Harz Mountains, in Hesse, Mecklenburg, and as far east as Pomerania.<sup>1</sup> The version from the Harz Mountains, which is printed by Pröhle, is typical except in the matter of Hackelberg's ennoblement:

Hans von Hackelberg, Chief Master of the Hunt in Brunswick, receives the royal command to arrange a great hunt at Harzburg. The day before he rides thither he dreams he is to die by a boar. On this account he decides not to take part in the hunt and is confirmed in his decision by his comrades. The hunt, however, goes on and a huge boar is shot. Hackelberg comes up, lifts the head to estimate its weight, and says, "You are the monster, then, that was to take my life? There is no chance of that now; you shall do me no injury." He lets the head fall and the tusk scratches his calf. This slight wound becomes worse and worse; doctors are called in vain. Hackelberg ascribes this to their lack of skill and hopes to find help in Brunswick. On his way thither he is overtaken by darkness and stops at his hunting-lodge in Wülperode. There he dies, but before his death he wishes that he might hunt to the Last Judgment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the story is attached to other figures than Hackelberg: for example, Wode (Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 359, No. 400, which is reprinted in Jahn, *Volks-sagen aus Pommern*, p. 8, compare Brunk, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, XIII [1903], 190-91); Klütze (Kuhn, I, 163, No. 406); Bärens (Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, pp. 218-19, No. 205); Elector Joachim (Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 83, which is reprinted in W. Schwartz, *Præhistorisch-anthropologische Studien*, p. 34); and an unnamed hero (Nodnager, *Zs. f. deut. Mythol.*, I [1853], 30-31; W. Schwartz, "Volkstümliches aus Lauterberg am Harz," *Zs. f. Ethnol.*, XXXVIII [1896], 158).

The best study of the Hackelberg legend (without much emphasis, however, on the story of his death) is by P. Zimmermann, "Die Sage von Hackelberg, dem wilden Jäger," *Zs. des Harzver. f. Gesch. u. Altertumsk.*, XII (1880), 1-26; see also Grimm, *Germanische Mythol.*, pp. 768-69; E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, 1891, p. 244, sec. 322; and the excellent summary in Plischke, *Die Sage vom wilden Heere im deutschen Volke*, Leipzig Diss., 1914, pp. 43-46.

<sup>2</sup> *Harzsagen*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 71, No. 110 (1859, I, 245). This story is also localized at "Uslar im Hannöverschen," see Pröhle, p. 72. Schambach and Müller (*Niedersächsische Sagen und Märchen*, p. 72, No. 98) say he died at Klöpperkrug and tell the same story. Cf. further Kuhn and Schwartz, p. 180, No. 203, 1; *ibid.*, p. 237, No. 265, 2; Schambach and Müller, p. 70, No. 97 (reprinted in E. Platner, "Einiges über die Volkssagen der Göttinger Umgegend," *Protokolle über die Sitz. d. Ver. f. Gesch. Göttingens* III, 27); Harland, "Sagen und Mythen aus dem Sollinge," *Zs. d. hist. Ver. f. Niedersachsen*, 1878, p. 77; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, II, 6-7, No. 18; and the tales cited below.



A legend recorded by Kuhn shows certain variations of interest:

Three days before a great boar-hunt is to be held in the Grimnitz forest the forester Bärens goes out to feed the swine. While on this errand at midnight he hears a voice from the neighboring quarry saying, "Is the stumpy tail there which is to kill forester Bärens?" He hears these words again the next night and on the morrow tells the Elector about it, declaring at the same time his suspicion that it might be some one who wished to terrify him. The Elector commands him to say nothing and to stay at home the next night. In his place the gun-cocker of the Elector watches and feeds the swine, and he too hears the voice. The hunt is held and Bärens remains at home. When it is over he rides out and finds a short-tailed sow which they are about to put on a wagon. He walks up to it, saying, "You were to take my life and are dead before me." In some way the head of the sow suddenly falls and tears open his body, so that he dies in a few moments. He is buried on the spot, which is marked by stones erected in a circle. It is still called Bärens' grave.<sup>1</sup>

One of the versions first taken down has Hackelberg himself slay the boar:

One night while Hackelberg is in deep sleep he dreams that he is fighting with a boar which finally overcomes him. Later the dream is realized, except that he slays the boar. Filled with joy he stamps on the prostrate beast and shouts, "Strike now, if you can." In doing this he treads with such violence on the boar's tusks that he wounds himself. The wound becomes inflamed and at last causes his death.<sup>2</sup>

A story which misses the point entirely may be cited in conclusion. It is told of the Luchsjagdschloss in Pomerania:

Klützke dreams that he kills a boar which has wounded him. Warned by his dream he stays at home and when he goes down from the castle after the hunt he finds among the game just such a boar as he had seen in his dream. When he lifts it from the wagon it slips out of his hands and the tusk runs into his leg, so that he is sick for a long time, although he finally recovers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Märkische Sagen*, pp. 218-19, No. 205. Similarly Hackelberg hears in the night before his death a voice which cries, "Aldrian, hês du den kempen all inêdan, dei Hackelberg sall daud slan?"—Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 328 ff. This the editor is inclined to relate to the story of the dog which the Wild Hunter leaves behind and which rejoins the chase on the anniversary of its desertion; but the connection is not obvious. E. H. Meyer (*Germ. Mythol.*, 1891, p. 259, sec. 341) sees mythological significance in the name Aldrian and makes some further comparisons which lead into other stories.

<sup>2</sup> Otmar, *Volkssagen*, pp. 249-50 (cited by Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*,<sup>4</sup> p. 768, and *Deutsche Sagen*, I, 399, No. 310).

<sup>3</sup> Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 163, No. 406, "Der Traum vom Eber."

These examples illustrate sufficiently the North German legend of Hackelberg's death.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that Hackelberg and Wode are both "wild hunters" in many North German tales, the relation of the story of their end to the myth of the Wild Hunt is superficial. The wish to chase forever does not spring naturally from the story of the boar hunt and its unhappy ending. A feeling of vexation that so insignificant a wound should bring death causes Wode to cry, "If I am to die from the dead boar, then I wish to hunt forever," or Hackelberg to say, "Since I am to die without having gone hunting, then I wish to hunt forever."<sup>2</sup> But this wish and consequently the forced connection with the Wild Hunt are often lacking in the German folk-tales.<sup>3</sup> For this reason one is inclined to believe that the story is but a floating, unattached episode which has occasionally and locally been brought into association with the myth.<sup>4</sup> If this is true there are in the combination of the episode with the Wild Hunt no mythological secrets of the sort E. H. Meyer and others have found: "This tale [of Hackelberg] rests on a myth of the chase of the mantle-bearing<sup>5</sup> storm-god Wodan and the whirlwind which uproots the earth and which is surrounded by flashes of

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Meyer (*Germ. Mythol.*, 1891, p. 245, sec. 322) speaks of "unsichere Andeutungen des Eberjägers" in Haupt, *Lausitz*, I, 121; Wolf, *Ndl. Sagen*, p. 615; Meier, *Schwab. Sagen*, p. 122; Lütolf, *Sagen, Bräuche und Legenden aus den fünf Orten*, p. 28; Rochholz, *A. S.*, I, 93, 101; Plischke (p. 43) adds *Grässe, Sagenbuch des preussischen Staates*, I, 292; Temme, *Die Volkssagen der Altmark*, 1839, p. 37; Voges, *Sagen aus dem Lande Braunschweig*, 1895, p. 1; Nork (in Scheible's *Kloster*, IX, 375) cites *Gräve, Volkssagen und volkstümliche Denkmale der Lausitz, Bautzen*, 1839, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 359, No. 400 (Wode); Schambach and Müller, p. 70, No. 97 (Hackelberg). Mannhardt (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, II, 44) aptly compares the death of Pholos in the *Heraclea*: Pholos drew an arrow from the body of a centaur and while he was marveling that so small a thing could cause death the arrow slipped from his hand and injured him mortally in the foot, cf. Apollodorus ii. 5.4; Diodorus Siculus iv. 70.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Nodnager, *Zs. f. deut. Mythol.*, I (1853), 30-31; Kuhn and Schwartz, p. 236, No. 265, 1, and p. 237, No. 265, 2; W. Schwartz, *Præhistorisch-anthropologische Studien*, p. 34; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, I, 163, No. 406; Otmar, *Volkssagen*, pp. 249-50.

<sup>4</sup> The myth has acquired other originally independent stories by a similar process of accretion. In Lancashire an old story which has no other associations with the Wild Hunt is used to explain the origin of the chase, see *Mod. Philol.*, XVII (1919), 308. Stories of the changeling cycle are also brought into the myth, cf. Graber, *Sagen aus Kärnten*, 1914, pp. 86-87, No. 105; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*,<sup>4</sup> p. 773, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The adjective is suggested by the probably erroneous etymologizing of Hackelberg as "hacol-berand," i.e., mantle-bearing; cf. Plischke, p. 46. On the etymology see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*,<sup>4</sup> pp. 770, 836; Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde*, p. 98; Hoefler, *Germania*, XV (1870), 414; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, II, 13; Rochholz, I, 81.

lightning, i.e., a boar with flashing tusks and flaming throat which races along in the Furious Host."<sup>1</sup>

With more reason Meyer finds peculiar and possibly mythical significance in the choice of a boar as the animal to kill Hackelberg; many divine and semidivine beings have died in similar fashion;<sup>2</sup> but in most instances there is no mention of a premonitory dream.<sup>3</sup> An interesting parallel containing the ominous dream is Herodotus' account of the death of Atys, which is thought to be a doublet of the legend of Attis.

The proud Croesus, king of Lydia, dreams that his son Atys will die from the blow of an iron weapon. Alarmed by the dream he makes his son take a wife, forbids him to accompany the Lydian forces in the field, and removes all weapons from the prince's apartments. About the same time Adrastus, a Phrygian bearing the stain of blood, prays to be admitted to purification. Croesus purifies him and welcomes him as a member of a friendly house. A little later the Mysians, who are plagued by a boar, ask help of Croesus. The king chooses a band of Lydians to aid them, but refuses Atys permission to go. The latter complains of the restrictions put upon him, saying, "Now the dream, thou saidst thyself, foretold that I should die stricken by an iron weapon. But what hands has a boar to strike with? What iron weapon does it wield? Had the dream said that I should die pierced by a tusk, then thou hadst done well to keep me away." Croesus yields and puts his son under the guardianship of Adrastus. The picked company depart and easily find and encircle the boar. While they are throwing darts at it, the spear of Adrastus misses its mark and pierces Atys, inflicting a mortal wound. Although Croesus forgives Adrastus, the latter kills himself on his victim's grave.<sup>4</sup>

Comparison with the myth of Attis and with other analogous stories makes it probable, think the mythologists, that Atys really died

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Mythol.*, 1891, p. 245, sec. 322, cf. p. 102, sec. 138; see also W. Schwartz, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, VII (1897), 11; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*<sup>2</sup>, p. 19, sec. 16; Müllenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler*<sup>2</sup>, II, 131. Zimmermann (*Zs. d. Harzver.*, XII [1880], 17) sees difficulties in this sort of explanation and connects the story with the myth of Baldr. Plischke seems inclined to compare it with the story of Meleager.

<sup>2</sup> See the lists in Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*<sup>4</sup>, p. 768, n. 4, and III, 280, and in Gruppe, pp. 806, 1907. Naumann (*Beiträge zur Geschichte d. deut. Sprache*, XLV [1921], 473-77, "Der grosse Eber") gives a suggestive list. Cf. Simrock, *Handbuch der deut. Mythol.*, passim and J. L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For such dreams cf. Benezé, *Das Traummotiv in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*, Halle, 1897, pp. 30 ff., 42 ff.; Vaschide and Piéron, "Prophetic Dreams in Greek and Roman Antiquity," *Monist*, XI (1901), 161-94 (also in *Bull. soc. anthrop.*, XII); R. Mentz, *Träume in den allfranzösischen Karls- und Artusepen*, Marburg, 1888, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>4</sup> i. 34-45; cf. Val. Max. i. 7. ext. 4 (ed. Kempf, pp. 40-41). Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in Oriental Religion*, p. 183, cf. pp. 8, 164; Gruppe, p. 1531, etc.

from a boar and that Herodotus is reporting a rationalized version of the story.<sup>1</sup> Hepding, the author of a recent monograph on Attis, believes that the story of the boar, which was current in Asia Minor, was incorporated into the legends of Atys and Attis.<sup>2</sup> Observe also that in the later forms of the Attis myth the boar is replaced by a snake, thus bringing the story nearer to that of Qrvar Oddr (cf. Gruppe, p. 950, n. 1).

The mythological associations of this story are extremely curious.<sup>3</sup> The death-dealing boar is supposed to be of Egyptian origin, and the story of Atys and Attis is thought to spring from the same root as the legend of Adonis, which the Syrians borrowed from Egypt. The ultimate source, moreover, of both the Syrian and the Greek (Lydian) story is seen in the puzzling and only partially intelligible legends of Seth, who is represented in the form of an animal variously interpreted as a wild ass, an antelope, etc. "It is possible," says Professor Müller,<sup>4</sup> "that it [Seth in animal form] was likened to a boar as well, and that the whole religious prejudice of Asia and Africa against pork goes back to this identification." He thinks (pp. 124-25) that the beginning of this notion may be found in the myth which narrates how a black hog penetrated into the eye of Horus.

Remoter parallels to the deaths of Qrvar Oddr and Hackelberg may be collected according to one's fancy; but none of them seems to have enjoyed any wide popularity. Such parallels are probably quite independent of each other and of the legends which I have discussed above. A not dissimilar story, for example, among the Aesopic fables runs as follows:

A father dreams that a fierce lion rushes out of the forest and tears his son in pieces. Warned by the dream, he forbids the boy to hunt and confines him in a wonderful tower the walls of which are adorned with paintings of beasts and birds. While the restless youth walks about he catches sight of a lion among the pictures. He complains to it about his imprisonment and,

<sup>1</sup> See particularly E. Meyer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, II, col. 2262.

<sup>2</sup> "Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult," *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, I (Giessen, 1903), 101.

<sup>3</sup> See Gruppe (particularly p. 948), Pauly-Wissowa, and Roscher, *s.v.* Adonis, Adrastus, Attis, Atys; compare also Carus, *Monist*, XI (1901), 516 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Mythology of All Races*, XII, *Egyptian*, p. 389, n. 33, cf. p. 399, n. 111. See H. Boussac, "L'animal sacré de Set-Typhon et ses divers modes d'interprétation," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LXXXII (1920), 189-208, with a note by E. Trovessart, pp. 208-9.

becoming warm, strikes it so that a nail pierces his hand. The wound becomes inflamed, festers, and finally a fever brings death.<sup>1</sup>

No animal at all appears in a dream which warns Caradoc in the thirteenth-century *Vita Meriadoci* of his fate, but the incident may be referred to here as an example of a not infrequent form of the story:

Caradoc dreams that he is pierced with arrows by two men who received them from the hand of Griffith. Notwithstanding the fright which the dream causes him and the attempt of the queen to dissuade him from carrying out his intention, Caradoc goes forth to hunt. Owing to his age he falls behind his companions and is slain under circumstances similar to those of which he had been warned in the dream.<sup>2</sup>

A modern English folk-tale shows that the notion of a prophecy which is fulfilled in spite of all obstacles is not yet forgotten:

A rich man refuses to lift a witch's child out of the mire and in revenge she prophesies that he shall have a son and that the boy shall die before his twenty-first year. To protect the boy the father keeps him in a tower with but one window, sending up the necessities by a rope. On the boy's twenty-first birthday a bundle of wood to warm the tower is drawn up, and concealed in the faggots is a snake. From its bite the boy dies. "She wor a bad un, wor that witch," concludes the narrator.<sup>3</sup>

And finally a remote analogue may be seen in the old story of the river-spirit which rises from the water crying, "The hour is come, but the man is not." Before the end of the hour, however, a stranger hastens up and despite the efforts of the bystanders to prevent him starts to cross the river and drowns in the attempt.<sup>4</sup>

The gathering of more such stories would not throw more light on the questions at issue. A random collection (containing no

<sup>1</sup> Halm, *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, No. 349, Παις καὶ παῖρ; B. Waldis, *Aesopus*, III, 40 (ed. Tittmann, II, 36-37). I do not find it in Joseph Jacobs, *Fables of Aesop*. For parallels see the editions of Waldis by Tittmann and by Kurz, and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 105, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XV (1900), 342 ff., cf. p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, London, 1866, p. 336, No. 11, "The Prophecy." Cf. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 47, No. 11. There is a further striking parallel in the *Mahābhārata*, see Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, Jena, 1921, pp. 24-33, No. 10, and compare with it R. Basset, "Contes et legendes arabes, 724," *Rev. des trad. pop.*, XXI (1906), 143.

<sup>4</sup> See Gervaise of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* (ed. Liebrecht), p. 38 and notes, p. 136; Liebrecht, *Germania*, XXXI (1886), 354, and *Zs. f. rom. Philol.*, VI (1882), 451; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, 243; Miss Dempster, *Folk-Lore Journal*, VI (1888), 240; Marquer, *Revue des trad. pop.*, VII (1892), 215-16; Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, chap. iv and note; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, pp. 361, 366; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 137; *Volkskunde* (Ghent), XXI, 76-77; Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 364.

striking or significant parallels) may be found in an article on the Atys story of Herodotus, which discusses chiefly two conceptions of fate exemplified by the tales.<sup>1</sup> In one group fate is represented as unescapable, in the other the conception is somewhat softened by a faith in an all-wise Providence. But such considerations as these are of little help in studying the story of the death of Qrvar Oddr. The comments of Herodotus' account are a little more to the point. The death of Atys, Klinger believes (p. 21), is of popular manufacture and not solely associated with the Lydian house. Atys may have died young, and thus have given cause for the attachment of the story to his name. Except for that possibility there is no historical truth in the narrative of his end. Analogous stories of fate are, he remarks, particularly frequent in south Slavic folk literature.<sup>2</sup> From this fact he would deduce a connection in oral tradition between Herodotus (or the folk-tale behind the history) and the modern tales. And this opinion he puts forth more emphatically in his conclusion:

Thus, in a whole series of instances we have succeeded in tracing a direct transmission of classical tales to the living tradition of modern races (the stories of Adrastus, Oedipus, Rhampsinitus). This compels one to acknowledge in the case of tales, stories, and in part of legends, the fact, which has been acknowledged much earlier in the case of popular proverbs, and which, apparently, would not be difficult to prove in the case of folk-riddles.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of all this Klinger has not made a very strong case for transmission in this particular instance and he has not cleared the atmosphere much by his collection of parallels.<sup>4</sup>

It is obvious that some, no doubt many, of these stories developed independently. The notion of a prophetic dream conveying a warning and coupled with its fulfilment in spite of hindrances which

<sup>1</sup> Klinger, "Skazočnye motivy iz istorii Herodota," *Universitetskii Izvestiia* (Kiev), XLII (November, 1902), 19-32.

<sup>2</sup> He cites (1) mythical parallels: Hyacinth (Ovid *Met.* X. 184); Adonis (*ibid.* x. 288); Attis (Ovid *Fast.* iv. 221; Pausanias vii. 17. 9-12); Achilles; (2) folk-tales: Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, "Le prince prédestiné," pp. 229-44; Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, II, Nos. 47, 52, 64, 66, 78, 88, 99, 102, 104, 105; Gonzenbach, No. 55; Grimm, "Dornröschen," No. 50; Hyginus *Fab.* 28; Achilles Tatius II. 34; Schwab, *Deutsche Volksbücher*, IV, 4-8. Such a collection can be used to prove anything or nothing.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIII (March, 1903), 193-94. Cf. also Polívka's summary, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, XIII (1903), 346.

<sup>4</sup> The persistence of classical story in modern tradition (except the fable) is now pretty generally questioned; see Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 217.

appear to be insuperable bears the stamp of no time or place. Only in rare instances would it be probable that an elaborated story based on such an idea could or would be carried from one nation to another, and only when the story possesses very characteristic features can the borrowing be demonstrated. Such a rare instance, however, is the story of the death of Qrvar Oddr, which was carried to and localized in the south of England. The situation as regards the Russian versions is more puzzling, although they are certainly related to the Norse saga. The consensus of opinion now favors the view that the Russians were the borrowers rather than the lenders. Beyond this it is hard to go. The significance of the similarities in the Hackelberg legend and its parallels is uncertain. At any rate its interpretation as a myth seems to fall in the first instance to the student of Greek or Egyptian mythology, since it is not a myth but a floating tale so far as the Germans are concerned. I shall not venture to guess whether the German story is a descendant of the Greco-Egyptian myth or whether there is a possible connection between the deaths of Atys, of Hackelberg, and of Qrvar Oddr. One fact at least is reasonably clear: a story has been traced with some show of probability from Scandinavia to Russia and also to England. That these routes were once culturally important has long been recognized, but a demonstration of their having been traversed by a folk-tale is not without interest and significance.<sup>1</sup>

ARCHER TAYLOR

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
ST. LOUIS, MO.

<sup>1</sup> I have already shown that one Middle High German tale came into Germany from the North, cf. *Mod. Philol.*, XVII (1919), 306-7.